2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

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565 The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can ac-
•836 cept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the
837 woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once
848 she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

125 The following data were collected through the use of a ques-
114 tionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

125 Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feel-
*565 ing that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 252 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends 262 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all [476] food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the [273] farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, [251] are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the 535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural [369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 888 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people 736 in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

3¢ Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1987 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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[Class D Families]

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[162]

nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

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Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

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[Class D Families]

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home.

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

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Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

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This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto mothers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.